

CEPPS/IFES Quarterly Report: April 1, 2005 – June 30, 2005

Angola – Support to Election Administration

USAID Associate Agreement No. 690-A-00-00280-00 Under Leader Agreement No. AEP-DGC-A-00-01-00004-00 Project Period: January 1, 2003 – September 30, 2005 Total Budget: \$200,000 Expenses Recorded to Date: \$40,417

Summary of Activities

IFES sent a representative to Angola to begin the discussing of a technical assistance program with the DNE. Based on the findings of this mission, IFES drafted a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the DNE however the DNE has not yet shown a willingness to partner with IFES.

Background

While agreement was reached on six laws (namely the laws on nationality, political parties, electoral observation, political parties funding, electoral registration and the code of electoral conduct), the seventh - Electoral Law concerning the National Electoral Commission (CNE) proved to be the most controversial in parliamentary debates. However, during the week of 25 April, 2005, the National Assembly passed the electoral package and finalized the composition of the CNE, paving the way for legislative elections, anticipated for September 2006.

According to the adopted law, the MPLA largely controls the 11-member National Electoral Commission. Political parties disagree as to whether or not the proposed electoral commission should be independent or under auspices of the government. UNITA continues to push for representation on the CNE in fear that the MPLA may use its majority in parliament to push its own agenda. There are concerns that a government-run National Electoral Commission might jeopardize the chances of a fair and transparent voter registration process.

Resulting from this delay in the electoral laws' promulgation, the voters' registration has yet to begin. While the government reassures that the process will be completed in 2005 and the president reaffirms the 2006 date for elections, opposition parties are raising suspicions that the MPLA might be willfully holding up the elections.

Tensions and violence in Angola this quarter was mostly a result of strained resources rather than political opposition. Violence that occurred was for the most part contained to provinces where development has been slow and resources are limited.

Activities

IFES consultant Stephen Beale traveled to Angola in mid-April to assess progress made towards the conduct of national elections in 2006 and collaborate with the DNE to develop a technical assistance program. During the two week visit, he met with USAID, the US Embassy, NDI, IRI,

the Division for National Elections (DNE), the UNDP, the EU, the British Embassy, DFID, NORAD, SIDA and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA). Topics discussed included the election process in Angola, the National Electoral Commission (CNE), the "package" of electoral legislation, technical assistance requirements of the DNE, international electoral support and donor coordination.

No activities were conducted this quarter however IFES has been following up with the DNE on the signing of the MOU.

Activities Planned for Next Quarter

IFES is monitoring the developments with the CNE and the DNE and consulting with NDI and IRI to develop a program strategy through September 30^{th.}

Attachments

Trip report from Stephen Beale



ANGOLA TRIP REPORT April 2005

Summary

This report summarizes a visit to Luanda, Angola from April 14 to 28, 2005, undertaken by Stephen Beale of IFES, to assess progress made towards the conduct of national elections in 2006.

Meetings during the two week assessment were held with USAID, the US Embassy, NDI, IRI, the Division for National Elections (DNE), the UNDP, the EU, the British Embassy, DFID, NORAD, SIDA and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA). Topics discussed included the election process in Angola, the National Electoral Commission (CNE), the "package" of electoral legislation, technical assistance requirements of the DNE, international electoral support and donor coordination.

João Kambowela, IFES local coordinator in Angola, participated in meetings, provided logistical support, political analysis and translation services during the assessment.

A meeting with USAID/Luanda early in the visit provided clear program direction for a) envisaged IFES support and b) future IFES activity in Angola. USAID suggested targeted, hands-on, technical assistance for the DNE focusing on the registration process rather than assistance with the legal framework or facilitating a conference for electoral administrators. The Mission felt that the opportunity had passed for IFES to assist the GoA in harmonizing the laws. Additionally, a formal request for international assistance for this politically sensitive process had not come from the National Assembly.

During the week of 25 April 2005 the National Assembly of Angola passed the electoral package and finalized the composition of the CNE, paving the way for legislative elections, anticipated for September 2006.

I. Division for National Elections (DNE)

During assessment meetings, a consensus emerged that the DNE required additional capacity to organize technically credible elections in 2006. This was confirmed by the Director of the DNE, Dr. Paulo Soma, who expressly requested assistance from IFES for various technical and operational aspects of election management. No bilateral assistance is currently being provided for capacity building of the DNE, however, the Government of Angola has apparently requested assistance from South Africa and the UNDP may provide technical assistance, once invited to do so.

After protracted debate within the National Assembly, the election package has recently been passed. The package includes the Law on Registration as well as the mandate and composition of the National Electoral Commission (CNE). According to Dr. Soma, voter registration will commence in June 2005 and will take four to five months to complete.

As a result of the recent impasse over the electoral package, a national conference on the election process that was intended for April has been postponed until May 2005. The conference will introduce provincial governors, election officials, political parties and civil society representatives to the electoral process. The DNE requested IFES to provide input for this conference, notably by inviting technical experts to share experiences and describe electoral processes in other SADC countries.

a) Voter Registration

The DNE/GoA will shortly select an international service provider to assist with voter registration. It is unclear whether specifications, procedures and a schedule of requirements have been developed or whether the review of tender documents has occurred. At this stage it is critical for the DNE to have the capacity to evaluate the suitability and capability of the service provider as well make an independent assessment of required inputs including equipment, software, consumables, staff (permanent, temporary) training and all other classes of expenditure involved in preparation of a voter register. Although not specifically requested, an independent, objective technical advisor for this process is recommended as one of IFES's interventions.

b) Development of Voter Registration Procedures

The DNE will develop formal written procedures covering the responsibilities of the registration staff (brigades) in Portuguese and other local languages. The manual must of course be ready prior to the actual training of trainers for registration. A technical committee should be established to ensure that the procedures set out in the manual are correct and reflect the legal, procedural and language requirements for Angola. Registration kits and, critically, a monitoring and evaluation mechanism that evaluates the accuracy and quality of information being captured from the field is also essential.

II. DNE Technical Assistance

With the registration law now passed, the DNE has commenced preparations for voter registration. Provincial governors have been instructed to identify personnel for training of trainers (TOT) positions and a national seminar will be held in May 2005. The DNE anticipates that 3,000 "brigades", made up of 21,000 temporary staff will be deployed throughout the country for the registration process. The DNE additionally agreed that IFES could assist in developing a cascaded training program and help in designing appropriate materials, manuals and methodologies. Specific electoral administrators (names provided previously) and regional experts were suggested by the Director for these tasks.

The following technical assistance, advice and expertise was discussed with the DNE and summarized in the attached letter to Dr. Soma:

- Training election officials: In consultation with the DNE, IFES will facilitate a series of training modules for election officials, including: organizational development and management, election planning and administration, voter registration, election operations (e.g. distribution logistics), polling procedures and information technology (IT).
- Voter registration: IFES will assist the DNE with the design of a training of trainers (TOT) program for registration officials. This may include building the capacity of the DNE Training Department and assisting with the development of procedures, manuals and training methodologies.
- Election Publicity Campaign: IFES will offer its extensive expertise in designing public awareness campaigns to encourage

greater participation in the electoral process, including registration and voting.

Coaching and mentoring of senior DNE management, notably the Director, focusing on professional development and training may also be required. Capacity to develop an election management plan, timetable, task lists, monitoring and evaluation systems, is also recommended.

III. Voter Registration Publicity Campaign

The DNE is responsible for developing and rolling out a national publicity campaign to inform the people of Angola that voter registration will shortly commence. In addition to general voter and civic education, a national strategy involving NDI, EISA and local CSOs, the DNE requires specific support to publicize the voter registration process.

A national communications and media campaign is therefore required in Angola, and abroad, to inform the voting public of the registration process prior to its commencement in June 2005. Since Angola's last election in 1992 many eligible Angolans will be voting for the first time and will be unfamiliar with the process or unaware of the necessity to register. A widespread public campaign is therefore essential to tell potential voters the reasons for registering, eligibility criteria, appeals procedures and dates. Ultimately, a voter registration campaign is intended to maximize voter turnout during the election and reassure people that the process is credible and transparent. The DNE may also consider establishing a communications or press office for this purpose which may include, *inter alia*, media briefings, press conferences, press releases, a website, etc.

IV. National Electoral Commission

With the recent establishment of the CNE there may also be an opportunity for IFES to facilitate a seminar for the new members of the Commission (USAID has recognized the value of this) using resources of the SADC Electoral Commissioners Forum (ECF) and/or the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA). As EISA has direct association with the ECF, a strategic partnership may be suitable for this activity.

V. DNE Organizational Development

Without a more thorough technical assessment it is difficult to predict the capacity and ability of the DNE to deliver elections in 2006. Additional GoA support, primarily through the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MAT), and/or international assistance is, however, probably required by the DNE. It remains to be seen though how much external assistance the Government is prepared to request. While the GoA has apparently allocated an adequate budget for the immediate objective of the DNE, i.e. to deliver an election in 2006, the long-term organizational development requirements of the DNE need to be assessed. The following is a partial list of O/D requirements, some of which may be addressed in the electoral package and GoA planning:

- organizational structure/management/relationship with the CNE
- human resource policy, requirements, skills audit, job profiles
- financial and administrative procedures and processes
- training, coaching and skills development strategy
- performance management systems
- office requirements, equipment and IT systems

VI. Donor Coordination and Support

The Luanda donor community has been closely following the electoral process in Angola. While premature to determine the level of international commitment for the election process, an informal "Elections Working Group" is being chaired by the UNDP to share information and coordinate activities. However, until an official request for international assistance has been issued by the Angolan Government, donors are unable to pledge assistance. Countries that are either currently supporting the process, or may do so once requested to, include: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, US, UK. The European Commission is still determining its level of interest in the election process. Until now, the majority of donor assistance has either been for civil society capacity building, media support or political party strengthening.

The United Nations Political Affairs Department (UN Secretariat) recently fielded a mission to Angola to assess requirements for the election. The mission discussed the establishment of a donor coordination mechanism and/or a secretariat to support international observers. The mission also presented modalities of UN electoral technical assistance and delivery methods. However, without an official

request or election date, the UNDP cannot progress any of these suggestions.

The extent of donor engagement for the next election may also depend on the perceived independence and neutrality of the CNE. A number of interlocutors stated that if opposition parties "buy-in" then donors will likely support the process. The controversy over fiscal transparency and accountability that the Angolan Government has lately been embroiled in may also impact negatively on donor engagement for the election. One EU donor has recently decided to reduce its presence in Angola and will be phasing out development assistance during the next 2-4 years.

Of the donors interviewed during the assessment, only DFID expressed interest in a possible strategic partnership with IFES. UK multilateral funding for Angolan electoral support has, however, already been committed for 2005.

VII. International NGOs

CEPPS partners in Angola continue with their national programs. NDI is working closely with local partners on civic education, advocacy, networking and capacity building while IRI is progressing its training activities for political parties.

Following the establishment of an office in 2004, the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) is a relative newcomer to the governance sector in Angola. EISA is developing broad program activities, including: civil society support, public dialogue, networking, voter and civic education, political party development, media training, conflict resolution and possibly election observation. While ambitious, EISA is receiving substantial program funding from DFID, NORAD and, potentially, SIDA.

VIII. Assumptions and Conditions

Successful delivery of IFES technical assistance will depend on the following assumptions and conditions:

- the GoA's willingness to accept international electoral assistance
- the DNE's capacity to plan and administer an election in 2006
- a memorandum of understanding between the DNE and IFES (draft attached as Annex 1)
- availability of qualified Portuguese speaking advisors

- a suitable project timeframe (Annex 3)
- a common understanding with USAID
- adequate donor funding

IX. Summary of Assessment Trip Outputs

- 1) Agreement in principle was reached with Dr. Soma regarding provision of IFES technical assistance for the DNE. A letter outlining these discussions was sent to the DNE (copies in English and Portuguese attached as Annex 2). The Director did not respond to the letter by the conclusion of the assessment and, therefore, was requested to fax a copy to IFES Washington.
- Draft memorandum of understanding between IFES and the DNE prepared (Annex 1). The MoU includes provisions for IFES office space with the DNE and related administrative and logistical support.
- 3) A six month project activity timeline prepared (Annex 3).

X. Suggested Follow-up Action

- 1) João Kambowela liaises with DNE to facilitate MoU signing
- 2) IFES/DC recruits a Portuguese speaking election expert for the DNE
- 3) IFES/Luanda networks with local donors, attends the Election Working Group, meets regularly with CEPPS partners
- 4) IFES Luanda investigates alternative office arrangements (in lieu of agreement with DNE), transportation, accommodation, etc.
- 5) IFES visits Luanda monthly to monitor program implementation, assess technical assistance, meet donors and liaise with IFES program staff, CEPPS partners and USAID.
- 6) IFES investigates additional funding sources

Attachments:

Annex 1: Draft Memorandum of Understanding
Annex 2: DNE letter (in English and Portuguese)
Annex 3: Six month project activity timeline
Annex 4: Meetings conducted and contact details